

## A MILLION DEAD AND NOBODY WINS ANYTHING

PEOPLE in the West probably know as much about the ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war as those involved. They probably know as much about its conduct as well. In Tehran, there were the usual exhortations and the declarations of new mobilisation initiatives for the basij (volunteer movement). Moslems (which means Iranis, with a token nod to other, supportive Shia's) were to gird ourselves for new struggles, any talk of compromise could be taken to the grave. There were a few setbacks, strategic regroupings and the like but the outcome was in no doubt. Now we have a ceasefire, apparently more or less holding, and face to face peace talks, supervised by the United Nations, until recently a gang of hypocrites.

Distilling the rumours, probably more reliable than consulting the media, gives some perspective. The regime was becoming anxious. Supplies of cannon-fodder and supplies were becoming difficult, the calls to martyrdom met increasing

selfishness. Ticking over underneath everything is the diminishing span of the earthly existence of Imam Khomeini. Various political factions are anxious to consolidate their positions under the sunshine of his approval. This has been discussed in *Freedom* before. Nominal heir-apparent is Montazeri, living off his past as chief organiser of the underground movement during Khomeini's exile. He has been in something of a decline. When his son-in-law dabbled in the Lebanon underground and leaked details of secret arms deals via USA and Israel, Montazeri had his knuckles rapped, in public and the junior relative was executed. More interesting is the front person for the major opposition faction, Rafsanjani.

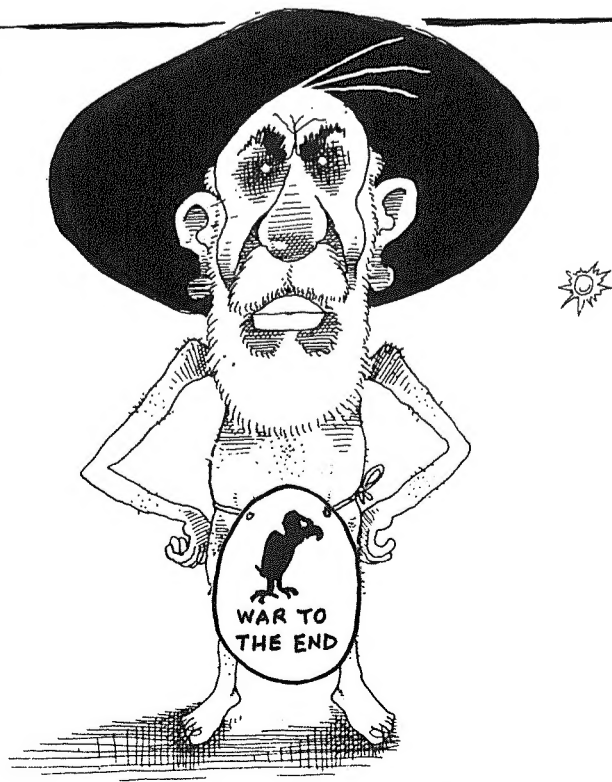
His political career has been noted in *Freedom*. At home he is seen as sharp and devious. He is certainly well in with those that matter, including our interface with god. He is particularly close with the celestial telephone's son, Ahmad. He has

a strong following among the mass who attend Friday prayer around Tehran's chief mosque.

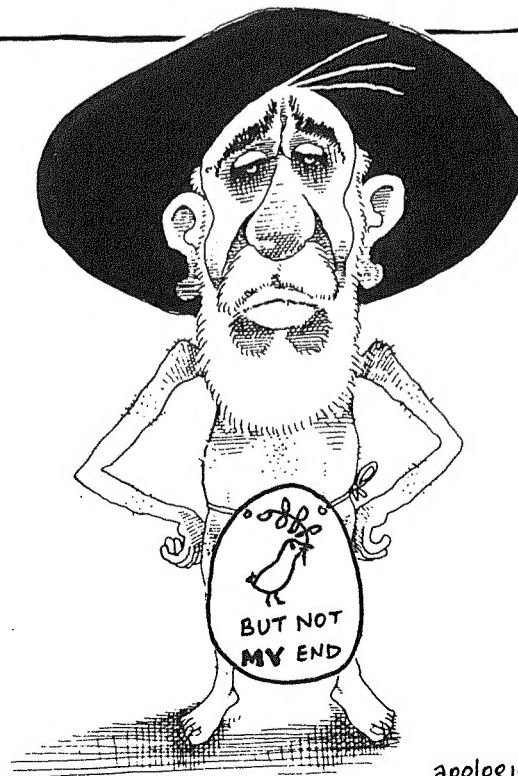
He is bright enough to turn muttering, for instance he was long called 'shark', a traditional nickname for those unable to produce a respectable mullahly beard, with obvious punning undertones. Now, he preaches that the devious Iraqis are including full growth in the peace terms. Then, a few weeks ago, he was appointed in charge of the war. There were many problems. The army was still held back, waiting for the final offensive. The Pasdaran (revolutionary militia) were taking the brunt of the fighting. The Mojehedin (radical Moslem party), with Iraqi support, invaded and briefly controlled a couple of towns. There was even an anti-war demonstration in Tehran. In a few weeks tactical withdrawals on the front resulted in both sides holding more or less their pre-war boundaries. Then, there is a ceasefire.

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II.



apologies to LURIE

# FREEDOM

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## DONATIONS

### AUGUST 1988

#### Freedom Magazine Fund

Inverness DMcl £3.50; Wolverhampton JL £4; Wokingham P(AS) £21.50\*; Leyton C+M £5\*; Nottingham AH £2.50; Wolverhampton JL £5.

August Total = £41.50

1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £571.55

\*remembering Larry Law

#### Freedom Premises Fund

Muenster HB £25; Teignmouth MD £1; Wolverhampton JL £6; Nottingham CA £10; Plymouth, Mass JB £16; Nottingham AH £2; Wolverhampton JL £7; Bath BV £5.50.

August Total = £72.50

1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £602.55

## London Anarchist Forum

Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, WC1 (Behind Southampton Row, opposite Russell Square. Meetings start 8.00pm, Forum people usually in ground floor cafe beforehand).

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| Sept 23 | Charles Crute (an editor of <i>Freedom</i> ): <b>Anarchist publishing, problems and prospects.</b> |
| Sept 30 | Open Discussion  |
| Oct 7   | Peter Neville: <b>Anarchism and Civilisation.</b>  |
| Oct 14  | Open Discussion  |
| Oct 21  | Alan Albon: <b>Agricultural and Ecological Politics</b>  |
| Oct 28  | Open Discussion  |
| Nov 4   | George Walford: <b>Class Politics; an exhausted myth</b>   |
| Nov 11  | Open Discussion  |

### Chaos Day in The Hague

20 September 1988

Contact VD, t.a.v. Arthur, Juffrouw Idastraat 10, 25 13 BG Den Haag, Holland.

### 1988 study meeting, Turin, 1-2 October

THE centro culturale L. Mercier Vega, in collaboration with the Centro Studi Libertari of Milan, is organising an international study meeting on the subject: '1968 — rebellion, political project and cultural transformation'. It will be held in Turin on 30 September and 1 and 2 October 1988.

The meeting could be articulated around these main topics:

#### The Climate

The power of imagination, the dissent, the culture (interventions on art, theatre, cinema, school education in 1968 and after it).

#### How, where, why

Analysis and interpretations about the origins, the meaning and the reasons of movements of 1968 (meaning of '68 in Europe, in the USA, subsequent developments and different manifestations).

#### The inheritance

What remains today of 1968 in policy, in ethics and in everyday life (interpretations of modern society, crisis of ideologies, revolution and social transformation, power and freedom, etc.)

The meeting will be concluded by a debate on the subjects treated in the previous sessions.

Maria Matteo

Contact Centro Culturale, Louis Mercier Vega, Corso Palermo 46, 10152 Torino, Italy.

## Anti-IMF

**Demonstration/Picket at Bank of England Thursday 29 September 1988, 12 to 2 pm.**

The International Monetary Fund (with the World Bank, probably the most powerful institution in the world) is holding its Congress in West Berlin from 26 to 29 September.

To protest against the economic robbery and imposed poverty in the Third World, and the ecological destruction and human exploitation caused by the IMF, there will be mass demonstrations in Berlin and protests in many other European cities. Coincidentally, 29 September is the fifth anniversary of the first 'Stop the City' demo. Join us. **London Greenpeace**

Calling  
Autonomous Peace Action  
Please contact

P. N. Rogers at 121 Isley Road  
Oxford, telephone (0865) 249406,  
about Upper Heyford.

## Exeter Anti-Fascist March

### Anti-Fascist March, Exeter, 17 September

Counter-march to the Orange Order/National Front march. Marchers are asked to bring anti-fascist banners and placards but to hide them until they get there, especially if travelling by chartered bus, in case of police action to delay demonstrators.

Contact Exeter Anti-Fascist Action, Box 176, c/o The Flying Post, 1 Parliament Street, Exeter, for location and times.

### Southern Anarchist Network

Meeting — 4 September in Oxford, to try to set up a Southern Anarchist Network. (Not an attempt to take over any existing groups of federations, but for better contacts and exchange of information between individuals and groups.)

Contact: Oxford Anarchists, Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

[Sorry we couldn't get *Freedom* out before the meeting, but contact Oxford anarchists anyway.]

## Ready for the Book Fair?

THIS years Anarchist Bookfair will be held on Saturday October 8th at Conway Hall. At the moment we need all possible stallholders to contact us (*New Anarchist Review*) at 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. The cost of the Hall and the publicity comes from the stallholders, who pay 10% of their takings on the day. We are asking for a £10 deposit for a full table (a fiver for a half) which will be non-refundable. Last year space was in short supply and it seems likely that those who have not paid a deposit will have no table space.

There will be a social in the evening, so if you have any ideas or offers of help (for example with the creche or with publicity) please contact us at the above address.

**New Anarchist Review**

# A MILLION DEAD AND NO WINNER

continued from front page

The poor old Imam is distraught. Like drinking poison he says. However, he has gone along with it. He is obviously failing these days. A couple of years ago, a week's absence from the TV would set off the rumours; now he can barely manage a show for important occasions. When he is wound up, some of the old fire is still there, but he falters.

There are people who don't like these developments. Revolutionary moslems mutter. The well-known nutters like Forgham, famous for motor-cycle hit squads (they nearly got Rafsanjani) have been yelling. Speculators are upset; there has been a thriving 'free market' outside the mosque distribution system. Everybody else breathes a sigh of relief. They, or their son, brother, cousin, or whatever has a reprieve. Nobody knows for how long. Opposition movements dare to come above ground, surreptitiously.

A High Court judge has provoked controversy by giving a 'virtual minimum' sentence of one year for rape. His decision was based on those involved once having been lovers, so it would not have been such a shock as to many women.

The Chinese government is relaxing the 'one family — one child' policy in rural areas. The concession only applies when the first child is a girl.

There is still royalist nostalgia. The Mojehedin are compromised by suspicions about centralist tendencies, personality cults and Iraqi connections. The Fedayin have splintered. The poor Kurds are back where they started, facing central government attacks with the innovation, on the Iraqi side of the border, of poison gas.

Where does it all lead? Play your own chess game. The peace talks are ongoing, presumably indefinitely. (They include ex-hanging judge, Khalkhali, god help us) Militant Islam has something of a setback here, something of a victory in Afghanistan. The loss of Zia in Pakistan is borne with courage.

Glaring over it all is something like a million deaths, to return to where everybody started. They include ten year olds, brainwashed into martyrdom, civilians crushed in rocket attacks, villages gassed to death. The positive side is seen by arms suppliers, politicians manoeuvring for advantage and speculators ready to help rebuild. If it all holds.

They call anarchy 'chaos'. It makes me very angry.

Ali



No more borders!

ON 13 August, London Greenpeace in England and Wolnosc i Pokoj, 'Freedom and Peace Movement' in Poland (also with support from groups in Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia) issued statements calling for an international campaign to abolish all state borders throughout the world.

13 August 1961 was the day on which the building of the Berlin Wall started, and so is a symbolic day (especially in Europe) to declare an Annual Day of Protests for the free movement of people to travel and live where they choose.

A detailed document, setting out what is wrong with borders, and describing the defiance, opposition, and evasion practised by many people in many different countries, has been published by London Greenpeace. All groups are encouraged to send for this document, and to fill in the tear-off slip indicating their support. Also to photocopy and distribute to contacts in all countries.

Contact London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.

For Wolnosc i Pkoj, write to Klaudiusz Wesotek, Ulica St. 32/3, Gdansk 80-392, Poland.

**WILDCAT**

What I did on my hols was to go on a sales trip, selling the products of British Industry.

Jolly good. How much did you sell?

Please let me finish. I took orders worth millions of pounds for British manufactures of all kinds:

fighter-bombers, warships, gunboats, tanks, rifles, bombs, rubber bullets, CS gas, machine-guns...

All weapons!!!  
AAAAAAAAA AAAA

Exactly, Pussycat. Trade is supplying what customers want, and these customers are military governments.

they'll use them to oppress people!

Then they'll need to replace them. More wealth for British wealth creators. More work for British workers.

But will the arms trade provide full employment?

My dear man, making arms is fool employment.



# 1688: the 'Glorious Revolution'

FOR anarchists, the most exciting event of 1688 occurred when London was left for a few days without an army, and an unruly mob burned down the prisons, first commandeering the fire engines to make sure no other buildings took fire by accident. No doubt *Freedom* will celebrate the tercentenary of this glorious event in November.

The so-called 'Glorious Revolution' was by contrast a routine affair, the replacement of one monarch by another of the same dynasty. James's heir-presumptive was his daughter Mary. She was married to his nephew William, who was next in succession after Mary. It was all agreed that after James's death, William and Mary would be joint monarchs, with William making all the decisions. Until 1688 (when the apple-cart was upset by James having a son) the strategy of William and the English ruling class was simply to wait for James to die.

The lower classes were less patient. When the Duke of Monmouth made his futile attempt on the throne on 1685, it took him less than a week to recruit an enthusiastic volunteer army of 5,000 labourers, artisans, and tradesmen (their occupations were noted in the ledger of their names, after they had been defeated

and rounded up by a small detachment of soldiers).

The English perception of papists (as Roman Catholics were called at the time) owed much to the terrible reign of Mary Tudor, more than a century earlier. Popular histories like *Foxes's Book of Martyrs* exaggerated the gloating malice of 'Bloody Mary' and her fellow persecutors, but did not invent the record of tortures and burnings alive. It is often said that the Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other in the same way, turn and turn about, but in fact the persecutions were different. The position of Catholics under Elizabeth and her successors was a little like that of Communists in the modern United States: confused with spies and saboteurs in the popular media, forbidden to work for the government or live near London, fined for not attending the parish church, liable to false prosecution (Guy Fawkes was probably framed), but not forbidden to exist. Protestants under Mary had illegal beliefs, and were liable to be burned to death if they would not recant.

William invaded England on 5 Nov. 1688. However, the usual date on medals and other souvenirs of the 'Glorious Revolution' is usually 6 July (the date on which, in the course of negotiations, William was handed the formal invitation from the English magnates). This is

because the Spanish Armada was defeated on 6 July 1588, and people enjoyed the idea of the two defeats of Catholic tyranny being exactly a century apart.

Irish perceptions were entirely different. There, it was the protestants who were perceived as tyrants, largely because of the depredations of Oliver Cromwell, as fanatical an anti-papist as Mary had been an anti-protestant, whose style was to bombard towns, where Mary had taken her enemies one at a time. William's invasion is known as the bloodless revolution, because in England his army encountered no opposition whatever. But in Ireland he had a war to fight, and the wars in Ireland and Scotland continued intermittently for seventy years, as James and his descendents tried, with local support, to retake the throne.

Christians in our time, assailed by reason, tend to stick together. The stories of different firms of Christians trying to destroy each other belong to the remote past. Except, apparently, in Northern Ireland, where people remember as if it were yesterday how the apprentice boys of Derry closed off the city gates against the French army, and how King Billy won the Battle of the Boyne.

M McM

## Fascists to march in Exeter

ON SATURDAY 17 September the Orange Order, who think of themselves as resisting Catholic tyranny in Northern Ireland, will march through Exeter to celebrate the defeat of Catholic tyranny in England, 300 years ago. The National Front, which supports the Orange Order's view that the ethnic Irish should be kept down, has promised to bring supporters to the march from all over Britain.

Exeter Anti-Fascist Action is therefore organising a counter-march, to which they invite anti-fascists of all shades from everywhere. There is no way in which they can prevent Irish nationalists, including Irish fascists, from joining the counter-march with Irish flags and placards calling for a united Ireland. If the nationalists predominate, the counter-march may appear to the television audience and newspaper readers, not as a march against fascism and bigotry but as one lot of fascists and bigots opposing another lot.

To make sure the counter-march looks anti-fascist, therefore, **anti-fascists will need to attend in large numbers** with anti-fascist banners and placards. Contact Exeter Anti-Fascist Action, Box 176, The Flying Post, 1 Parliament Street, Exeter, Devon.



illustration from Cliff Harper's *Graphic Guide to Anarchy*

# Anarcho-syndicalist resurgence?

ON FRIDAY 22 July, the CNT (not the CNT-AIT) experienced a spectacular advance in the union elections in the car factory of the Sociedad Española de Automoviles de Turismo (SEAT) in the Zona Franca of Barcelona. It received more votes than either of the two main unions — CCOO and UGT — which have dominated the Spanish workers movement since the death of Franco. This result is of enormous importance for anarcho-syndicalism and as a CNT circular put it, 'it's a demonstration of the resurgence ... of anarcho-syndicalism from the base, in which decisions are made by the workers themselves in their assemblies and union sections.'

Just before the elections, Antón Saracibar, secretary for organisation in the UGT, said that 'the elections at SEAT are of great importance for the unions which will have to measure its correlation of forces.' It was a test, but unfortunately for him his union and CCOO lost out and the CNT won! (CCOO lost 8 delegates — down from 25 to 15; UGT lost 2 — down from 18 to 16; and CNT gained 12, up from 5 to 17; another union, 'Confederación de Cuadros' got 5).

As is well known, at least among anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, the CNT only supports union elections in order to maintain its influence in the workplace and whenever possible attempts to divert the power from the 'Comité de empresa', (the negotiating body of the workers' delegates), and transfer it to the workers themselves in assemblies. This is what it has attempted to do since the 1986 union elections and is now in a very strong position to carry it out. Incidentally, the argument over whether or not to participate in union elections was an important reason for the split between the CNT and the CNT-AIT who rejected participation outright. Both agree on the bourgeois, authoritarian nature of the elections and the Comité de empresa but this result in SEAT, and the CNT-AIT's lack of any effective influence in the workplace and the workers' movement, seems to reinforce the CNT's more pragmatic but no less radical line as the one needed in order to spread and reinstate the influence of anarcho-syndicalism in Spain.

To understand the reasons for CNT's sudden resurgence in SEAT (a large factory of 16,640 workers) a bit of background history to the conflict is necessary. In the 1986 union elections CCOO and UGT had an overwhelming majority in the 'Comité de empresa' and arrogantly used this majority against the interests of the workers. It allowed management to impose its labour policy, supported by the 'socialist' PSOE government, which meant increased productivity at



all costs, to impose a night shift and to speed up the production line. They also signed an agreement allowing management to introduce 'functional mobility' for maintenance personnel whose posts were taken up by workers not on fixed contracts and whose work conditions were different, thus creating a division in the workforce. Work on Saturdays and even Sundays for some workers was made virtually obligatory and a wage freeze, with an increase of 3.15%, was also accepted. Most scandalous of all, however, was that they bought affiliations to their unions from new young workers and older ones without a fixed contract, saying that 'if you affiliate, we will get you a fixed contract'. They also got jobs for relations and some 20 cases are known of people actually paying for a job!

The CNT, along with the LCR and MCC (two revolutionary marxist groups) also set up a campaign against sexual and contractual discrimination holding protests in the central offices, but CCOO and UGT silently maintained their arrogant, machistic position.

Their deplorable, corrupt postures, however, had to eventually bring its repercussions. They sold the collective agreement they had signed with management as 'the best in Europe' but despite blocking the entrance of CNT in the negotiations and using their paid bureaucrats to distort the information put out by the CNT, the workers finally saw CNT to be right. The CNT collected 6,324 signatures in 3 days (to revoke a 'Comité de Empresa' the law says you need the signatures of one third of the workers in order to then call an assembly, and 50% plus 1 of all the workers' votes are necessary to have new elections), and a referendum was held on May 7th asking the workers whether or not they wanted a new 'Comité de Empresa'. An overwhelming majority — 9,301 against 320 — voted yes. CCOO and UGT had asked workers to abstain but participation was 60% and, taking into account the habitual 20% abstention, this meant that only 20% followed their call. It is worth noting that this is the first time a 'Comité de Empresa' has been replaced in a large factory: hopefully it will be a precedent.

The fact that *El País*, the paper with

the highest circulation in Spain, devoted an editorial to the CNT victory, illustrates the extent to which this victory has affected Spanish society. It posed the question as to whether the CNT's results were due to 'specific factors of SEAT' or whether there was a 'sign that something is changing in the static union panorama of the last decade'. The next day (1/8/88) they devoted a whole page to CCOO's, UGT's and CNT's analyses. Both CCOO and UGT recognised the importance of the CNT victory and the consequent need for self-analysis and criticism but coincided, not very surprisingly, in calling it a purely isolated victory. Justo Domínguez, Secretary General of UGT in Catalunya, said that 'in SEAT the workers protested because they didn't understand the wage increase of 3.15% this year, when SEAT had begun to make money and when even the Government accepts 4%'. He went on to say that SEAT may be the 'tip of the ice-berg' showing the discontent of certain sectors of workers, but added, as he was bound to do, that 'the results of SEAT are not indicative of the rest of Spain. They are an isolated case.'

There are definite signs, however, that it may well indicate a more general trend. In the banks, earlier this year, a referendum on whether or not to reject the collective agreement signed by CCOO and UGT was held with the CNT, and a small section of the left wing of CCOO, advocating 'no' and they won — albeit marginally. There have also been several desertions from CCOO to the CNT recently and workers generally are getting fed-up with CCOO and UGT's uncombative stance against management and PSOE's monetarism and policy of industrial reconversion. There is thus an increase in the sympathy for the CNT and a more belligerent attitude towards the bosses and the government. To quote Antonio Bernal, Secretary general of CNT in Catalunya: 'SEAT is not a one-off phenomenon but a response to the profound tendencies in syndicalism, not only in Spain, but in Europe. Movements similar to that of SEAT have occurred in Italy, France and Sweden ... these movements are a spontaneous rejection of the organisational model of the principal unions, and their unparticipative nature'. He goes on to say that 'CNT's model of continuous participation and consultation with the workers was sufficient in itself to give them the victory at SEAT' and that it will produce further successes.

We will gladly inform you of these future successes of anarcho-syndicalism in Spain.

PM  
Federación de Enseñanza,  
CNT Barcelona

# People or Pawns?

WHAT a month August was for stirrings amongst the peoples of the less rich nations of the world.

In Poland hardships have led to widespread strikes, and Lech Walesa offered to call off a strike in the Gdansk shipyard if he was 'included in talks on the country's

future'. He was booed, but the strike was called off.

In Czechoslovakia a demonstration of 10,000 young people in Prague demanded greater freedom. The Czech leaders installed in 1968 need to go along with Perestroika, but any real revolt would need to



Prague 1968. This year, a demonstration was allowed.

be suppressed because of the importance of Czechoslovak industry to the Russian economy.

In Romania the Ceausescu family are forcibly moving lots of other families and obliterating history. They have bad relations with Russia because of their 'independence' from Moscow, but having just withdrawn from Afghanistan and proclaimed Perestroika, a Russian invasion is unlikely. The Ceausescu family were supported by American loans which they are now paying back and they are now raising money from West Germany by taking payments for ethnic Germans who are being allowed to emigrate. Ethnic Hungarians are also fleeing the country, but whatever the degree of tension between Romania and Hungary both are members of the Warsaw Pact, and in any case Hungary is scared of uprising by irridentists and fears that Romanian agents may be behind the recent popular protests in Budapest.

In Pakistan military ruler General Zia was killed in an aeroplane explosion and it is not yet known which of the many people who wanted him out of the way was responsible. He owed his position mainly to support from the Western Allies who kept him supplied with arms, some of which seem to have found their way to 'dissident' groups in Afghanistan. British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe attended his funeral and Mrs Thatcher praised his support for the Afghan refugees, but we may assume that this was not for humanitarian reasons. If Benazir

## US troops threaten UK civilians

THREE Civil Service trade unions have submitted a dossier of complaints to the Property Services Agency, about the treatment of their members doing work on buildings occupied by the United States military.

In 1942, when the US joined the war and American servicemen came to Britain in large numbers, the Overseas Forces Act was passed to exempt them from British law. The general assumption was that when hostilities ceased the Americans ('overpaid, oversexed, and over here' in a popular saying of the time) would go home and their legal privileges lapse; but hostilities did not in fact cease. World War Two was replaced by the Cold War as the victorious allies fell out. The Americans stayed, and the Overseas Forces Act 1942 is still in force.

At present there are some 135 US military establishments in Britain, plus about 20 sites occupied by US troops as residences only. Buildings and equipment are maintained by workers supplied from the PSA, but they are subject to United States and not United Kingdom

law, in the same way as the US Embassy.

The complaints made to the PSA are various, but the most interesting are of maintenance engineers being threatened with guns. One gang, working on a roof at the Lakenheath base, were actually shot at through the roof by some victim of brainwashing convinced the pinko invasion had begun. Another group were arrested and kept for an hour with guns pointing at them, as their civil service passes were not accepted as evidence of identity. An engineer on business drove across the white line indicating the boundary between British and American territory before presenting his credentials to the guardhouse, and found a loaded pistol pointed at his head.

The most recent incident in the dossier occurred at Upper Heyford base in July this year. A maintenance engineer answering an emergency call was refused admission, but tried to get in again later. He was made to lie spreadeagled on the ground, a soldier standing over him with his automatic rifle cocked, until his identity was confirmed by (unarmed)

British military police. The word of other civilians working on the base was not accepted.

In 1984, Orwell's satire on the Britain of 1948, the country whose capital is London is named Airstrip One. United States politicians once themselves described Britain as the Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier. But it is an exaggeration to say Britain is an American colony, or speak of an American army of occupation in this particular territory, as it is not uncommon for governments to grant privileges to allied troops.

However, it is no exaggeration to say the American bases are dangerous. As Winston Churchill pointed out in 1950, the siting of American atom bombs in East Anglia made East Anglia a prime target for Soviet atom bombs in case of war between the US and the USSR, and as a civil service trade union spokesman said to the press on 15 August 1988, 'we are worried that it will be only a matter of time before someone is seriously injured or killed'.

DR



Bhutto wins power she can only rule with the support of the army and any stable government will get Western support.

Russia seems to have withdrawn its army from Afghanistan, but has infiltrated elements from its southern republics into the Kabul government, and left a lot of its arms behind. Mr Gorbachev has been having a lot of trouble. His 'glasnost' is a response to mass demonstrations, ethnic riots, strikes; and his 'Pere-stroika' is based on the desire of some Russians to overcome the appalling conditions of the masses by providing better food, housing, medical care and consumer goods. The ten per cent party membership is criticised for having privileges, but what does this matter when the country is so under-developed that it cannot provide for all? The need is for modernisation in industry and agriculture and this means foreign investment in the form of bank loans and technological aid, but the Western powers fear that such aid will be used to produce weaponry more efficiently, so at the moment we have stalemate.

**Rather nasty**

In Burma where a military caste has been in power for twenty-six years and has turned a rice-bowl into a country with food shortages, protestors against the government have been shot dead by troops but some of the troops have defected, so 'reforms' have been promised, and we may see a government which will 'liberalise' the country, that is allow foreign capitalist participation. In this country which calls itself 'socialist', dock workers in Rangoon are reported to have defied the law by announcing the formation of a trade union.

In Kampuchea there is a rather nasty situation, the outcome of which is uncertain. The government is only kept in power with the support of Vietnam which is in turn backed by Russia. (The Vietnam government is a sort of corrupt bureaucracy which is faced with popular unrest because of food shortages.) The Kampuchean government is threatened by a collection of rebels including Pol Pot and Prince Sihanouk who are backed by China. China would undoubtedly like to ditch Pol Pot and would do so if the Russians stopped supporting Vietnam. Mrs Thatcher recently visited the Thai border and said it would be terrible if Pol Pot seized power and nice if Sihanouk came back, as he might well turn Kampuchea towards a capitalist economy. Kampuchea used to sell its large rubber crop to Russia but now most of it goes to Singapore. If Vietnam withdraws from Kampuchea the United States will end its trade embargo, and Kampuchea will get the support of the United States and Britain. But Russia as backer of Vietnam fears the expansion of Chinese influence in Asia, while the United States supports

the Kampuchean rebels to curry favour with the Chinese and put pressure on the Russians.

It is significant that Gorbachev wants better relations with Deng Xiaoping, but after the Moscow Summit the Chinese government may feel isolated. China wants trade relations with the West — the Polish premier visited China in June, and of course Britain wants to see a liberalisation of Poland — but although it has good relations with the West, China is wary of being used either by the West or by Russia, so the three-power conflicts go on and the people of the third world suffer.

We have not seen any major devastation of a country, but then as in Iran war is becoming an expensive business. Once a country has been devastated by war, then 'reconstruction' takes place, with a further boost for the advanced economies and further opportunities for them to extend their spheres of influence. A journalist in the British press last month reviewing the international situation suggested that the West needs to 'stand up to the bullies of the world' by which he meant keep up its level of armaments. And in Britain workers at David Brown's truck factory gave up their holidays to complete a valuable order for military vehicles.

Anarchists argue that the power of states lies in the acquiescence of the overwhelming mass of the population. Power and privilege for the few will remain so long as the majority, encouraged by the Press and the politicians, believe in their own powerlessness as the normal state

of affairs. If the world's economy was designed to satisfy real needs and not profits, disarmament could release the masses of people from unnecessary toil while providing a high standard of living for all.

While the major powers compete for 'zones of influence' leaders of the under-developed countries can exploit the situation for their own gain, and in so doing they ensure that these countries become part of the struggle between the major powers, in the course of which the ordinary people suffer. The only encouraging sign of the month was that there are movements among the people to protest against all this.

CC

Public spirited citizens in Essex have new opportunities to demonstrate civic duty. The police are to set up a register of volunteers for identity parades. They are fed up with hanging around the town centre seekin passing trade. Apparently, the main qualification is ordinariness of appearance. Citizenly dedication does not go unrewarded; there's £3 for the first hour on parade and £1 per hour afterwards.

The notorious EEC milk lake is disappearing. The ludicrous overproduction of dairy products has apparently been checked. As an example, stored butter in Britain has fallen from 250,000 to 63,000 tonnes in the last two years.

**TONY EARNSHAW'S VIEW FROM THE BACK OF TOWN**



The Heart and Soul of the Politician

# Another type of slavery?

THE notion of *community* is implicit in much anarchist thinking. The breakdown of the state and its faceless bureaucracy must be replaced by a loving communism with on the spot sharing and continued access to the universal soupbowl. The problem is that we now live in a geographically mobile society where community in anarchist terms is a relationship with friend or partner or a meeting with comrades once a month. The notion of the self-supporting commune becomes a myth. This becomes even more apparent when we talk about community care.

Community care is state care provided by the local Social Services Department and National Health Service and by odd voluntary bodies unevenly distributed over the country. The term has been hijacked by the state to refer to non-residential care. Although originally intended to refer to a different option of caring to residential care the state has adopted it universally largely for financial reasons — it's cheaper to run than the residential provision.

The original idea had nothing to do with cost. It emerged as a welfare policy in the 1960s and 1970s as a reaction against the older workhouse-like residential establishments which socialised and institutionalised the elderly, the disabled, the chronic sick, the mentally ill, and criminal offenders into the role of inmate, isolating them from the rest of society. What was needed, it was felt, was to bring them back into the community. People responded better to care from their family, loved ones and neighbours. So community care became one of those implicitly progressive ideas almost beyond challenge in operation. It was another universal good. Anarchy in action through state provision. Was it a contradiction in terms?

In practice it was underthought. Who was responsible for community care in a geographically mobile society? The evidence is emerging that community care does not mean the community generally but an aspect of it — the family. And the family means the mothers, the sisters, the daughters and grand-daughters, the relatives but not all the relatives — essentially the working women of society. And these were hardly consulted.

It puzzles me that anarchists avoid this in discussion. Community care is accepted as being better than institutionalised care but there is no critique of its operation. That it is essentially sexist, voluntarist, with minimal community support and too little male support. Is this a fair criticism? If not then who does this

community care? Why have anarchists not constantly challenged the practice of community care? After all, anarchists if anything else are good at exposing humbug and deceit.

Why the comparative silence from feminists too? Is it because this community care is essentially done by working class women? Also there are far too many middle class feminists using the present employment situation to create a servant class to give themselves freedom. Community care for them means free creches and nurseries, 'home helps', working class support of the middle class and the many middle class jobs for women in the caring professions. It's called post-feminist equality. Equality for some, equal to their fathers, husbands and brothers, but rather unequal to the rest of us. But that is the way with elites.

We cannot have very much community without real community care. We have to work out systems that embrace residential care, for if we as individuals are not willing or able to care within the community we must be prepared to offer residential care, presuming, of course, no one is talking about population control or euthanasia. I think it is time we began to open up the debate. Coming out with terminological clichés is no substitute for good, sound theory and workable practice. And I hate to sound rather hurried but I have the feeling we are running out of time.

Peter Neville

## IN BRIEF

According to a report in the *British Medical Journal*, between 1951 and 1988, the number of inmates of psychiatric hospitals fell from 150,000 to 60,000. In the same period, the prison population rose from 20,000 to 54,000.

A man detained under the Mental Health Act in Surrey is to be compulsorily injected with an experimental 'chemical castration' drug in order to reduce his sex drive. He is detained for behaving 'inappropriately towards women'. This is said to be the first involuntary treatment of its kind, following a High Court ruling which removed it from a more stringent section of the Act.



drawings by Chris Mann  
for Amnesty International



# A filthy sort of existence

THE Prison Officers Association dispute at Holloway once again raises the question just what is happening inside somewhat secretive establishments. The reported incidents are only the tip of the iceberg of actual incidents, but what is clear is a continuing rebellion. We now have a catalogue that reads off like a catastrophic indictment of the whole system.

- April 1986, Northeye riot and serious disturbances at 22 other prisons on the same night. £4.5 million damage.
- September 1986, Shotts Prison in Glasgow. Siege.
- October 1986, Risley Remand Centre, 27 prisoners hurt in clashes.
- October 1986, Saughton Prison in Edinburgh. Riot.
- November 1986, Peterhead. Riot.
- January 1987, Barlinnie. Riot. 34 injured and three hostages taken.
- September 1987, Peterhead. Riot and siege.
- October 1987, Perth. Riot and siege.
- March 1988, Perth. Riot and siege, one hostage held.
- May 1988, Rollerstone, Salisbury Plain, riot.
- June 1988, Haverigg, Cumbria, riot, £750,000 damage.
- July 1988, Glenochil, rioters on dirty protest hit headlines.
- July 1988, Lindholme, rioting resulting in six escapes and transfer of 46 prisoners.
- July 1988, Longriggend, 56 stage roof top protest.
- August 1988, three different prisons, minor disturbances.

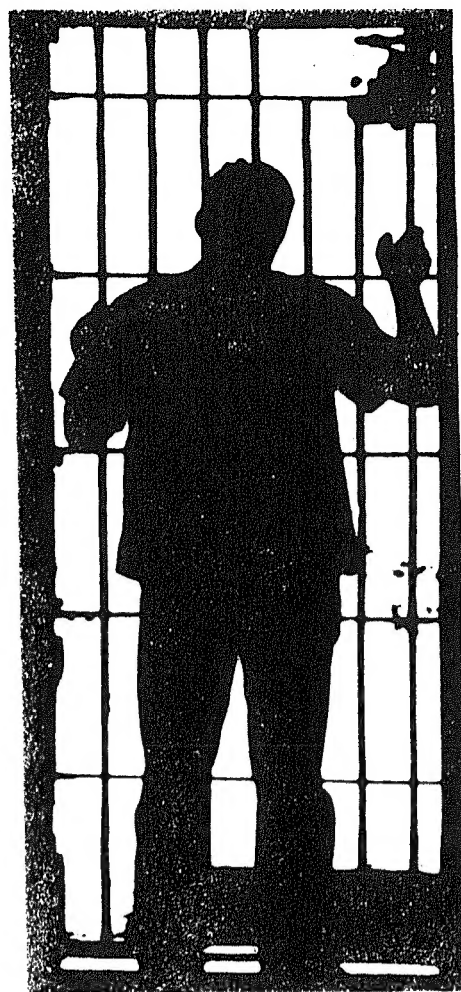
Three main reasons are thought to be the cause of the unrest: the treatment of prisoners by officers, the living conditions of the gaols, and the massive overcrowding.

The typical problems are the enforced cell sharing with two other inmates in a cell built for one person. The lack of toilet facilities and no access to running water except for three 5-minute periods each day known as 'slop out'. Bathing facilities allowed only once per week. Extensive confinement to cell due to understaffing of workshops and association periods. Lack of air conditioning and a general nauseating stench of urine and sweat lingering in the environment. Ill fitting clothing, lack of education facilities, poor library stocks, infrequent and short visits due to understaffing, and lack of attention giving the problem of cockroach and earwig infestation. The European Society of Friends said on 10 February 1987 that only 4% of British

prisons have cells with running water and only 18% of prisoners have individual cells. In the same month the Prison Officers Association claimed some of their members were working sixteen-hour days, whilst the then inspector of prisons Sir James Hennessey outlined in a report the unhygienic condition of most of Britain's prisons. All this coming only one week after the Howard League for Penal Reform called for the end of imprisonment for juveniles.

Perhaps the biggest strain placed upon inmates is the hostile attitude shown by officers who insist upon being called 'sir' or 'boss' and who purvey a general bullish manner. Some reported incidents include: the strip searching of women by male officers at Risley, the physical battering of Sammy Ralson that directly spurred the Barlinnie riot, the assaults on William Graham and James McLean by officers clad in full riot gear whilst people dressed in civilian clothes filmed the beatings with a video camera, the continual transportation of prisoners involved in disturbances, the death of Mr Armando Belonia of pneumonia at Wandsworth after first being denied access to medical treatment and then being administered the wrong drug, the use of SAS units to quell the Peterhead riot, and the recent calls by Garth prison governor Terry Bone to bring in the troops to man prisons. The highly televised dirty protestors at Glenochil gave further clues to staff attitudes, where officers explained how naked men caged in empty cells could get access to an iron bar. Also at Glenochil the refusal of the staff to clean up areas adjacent to both inside and outside of the cells.

The use of army camps for overspill prisons is now well established Government policy, but in reality does little to address the overcrowding issue. In February of this year NACRO (National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders) stated that three prisons the size of Wormwood Scrubs would need to be built every two months, to contain the rising prison population under the Government's own guidelines. At the same time NACRO were able to report that Armley gaol in Leeds was 'overpopulated by 111%. Perhaps the most frightening facts to emerge were that 23% of the total prison population were untried remand prisoners, some waiting up to a year for their case to be heard, of which at least 2,500 were eventually found not guilty. 'Action on Youth Crime' found in June of this year that a third of all remand prisoners

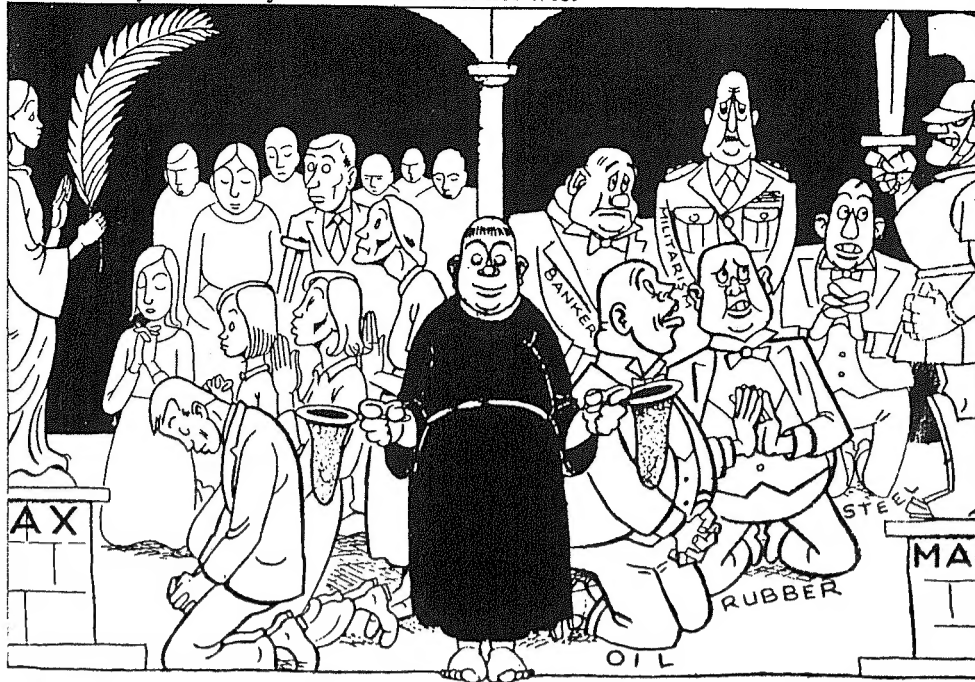


were aged between 17-20, and a few weeks earlier the Board of Visitors described conditions inside Wandsworth as disgusting, degrading and a public health disgrace.

Rioting is really a positive reaction to this filthy regime. What goes unnoticed is the negative response, the suicides. Whilst Armley reported only two suicides last year, Risley claimed six victims — the last being 23 year old Glyn Stephens. (In the same press release two unnamed females were on hunger strike at Risley.) The chairman of the local branch of the Prison Officers Association said in July of this year that the suicides were due to underfunding. But perhaps one of the most tragic cases from last year is the attempted suicide of John Shorthouse, who slashed his wrists after suffering depression whilst serving a five year sentence — depression brought on by the shooting to death of his five year old son by PC Chester in a dawn police raid on his home.

Finally, let's not forget that the prison disciplinary and tribunal system now in operation was condemned by the Law Society as ineffective in 1986. Prisoners have no reliable channels for complaints and no legal representation when facing disciplinary panels. And among European countries, Britain is second only to Turkey in numbers per population imprisoned.

CA



## Much Ado at Lambeth

DESPITE the continuing absence of its sponsors, Messrs G. Hover and Son, the Lambeth Conference went ahead, or sideways, depending on one's point of view, under the pewmanship of His Grouse the Archbigot of Cant, its organisers having reluctantly decided that the recent claims made by the Post Office Sorting Office were without foundation. The first few days were devoted to the construction of a fence strong enough to bear the combined weight of five hundred well-fed bishops in the sitting posture, and a search through dictionaries for alternative expressions for describing a spade.

Of the greatest concern to most of their Grouses was what might happen to their Bishoprics if women were allowed into their ranks: Heaven forbid that females should preside over their wine tasting sessions. But, in the knowledge that their male bastion had already been penetrated by the appointments of women priests in Disneyland, Oz, NZ, Kenya and Uganda, Archbishop the Most Reverend Dr Rancid and the Extreme Right Reverend Dr Leanhard, ably supported by the Most Reactionary Reverend Dr Clear-Rinse, Pope of Fort Worth, had prepared for delaying tactics — much to the dismay of the Bored-Again Agnostics.

Rancid and Leanhard, of course, have a fight on their hands. It will take more than prayers to stop Uncle Sam's bishops from getting what they want. And not a few Overseas bishops, largely dependent on Yankee funding, might deem it necessary to hide their prejudices. Thus Dr Leanhard's efforts to put the feminist homophilic Much Less Reverend gum-

chewers on the side of Satan can succeed only at the price of splitting the already crumbling Wrangleclan Church down the aisles. To say the future looks black takes on a special significance in the light of the fact that Disneyland may get its first black woman bishop within the year. Most of the Yankee bishops make our progressives, like the Pseudo Reverend Dr Junkbins, look like fundamentalists. The Leanhard faction's accusation that mitred women were not an episcopal possibility was countered by the remark that, on that basis, the Established Church rake-off of £117 million profit on last years investments was out of order.

Had the Sorting Office got their facts right, one wonders what the First Astronaut would have had to say to the Conference, remembering how he took his three-line whip to the Theodolites in the Temple for not being on the level.

The upshot of all this weeping and wailing and gnashing was a resolution put by the Most Amazingly Reverend Dr O'Kneel that women bishops be consecrated, but that all bishops be courteous to one another: This was approved by 423 votes to 28, with 19 discourteous abstentions. Having left the crisis of women in pulpits to stew for another decade, their Grouses turned to other matters which had obstinately managed to remain in the Agenda.

The Frightfully Reverend Bitchard Harass, ever mindful of the Hollowcause where the Master Race almost wiped out the Chosen Race, came up with an emasculated resolution on the position of Judaism designed to pacify the Evangelicals by making Rabbis a very dubious even

St Stephens with themselves salvationwise.

Whether to 'turn the other cheek' or to demand 'an eye for an eye', and whether to 'be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution' are biblical confusions which influenced the debate on the justification of 'armed struggle' in the face of repressive regimes. The Archbigot of Armagheddon had South Africa on his mind but the Very Renegade Dr 'Indiana' Jones of Disneyland wore a shamrock, not a leek as might be expected. Those bishops with one eye on their congregations and the other on the fence sighed with relief when Quasi Reverend Archbishop Despond Tut Tut decided that Ulstermen's votes made a crucial difference. And so the holy go-ahead was given for 'armed struggle' with the ambiguous rider condemning violence in Northern Ireland. The Conference singularly failed to mention the British Government's unstinting efforts to democratise Saudi Arabia, Chile, Indonesia, Pakistan, Turkey and South Korea, by selling them weapons of mass destruction. Nor was there much talk about Nicaragua.

Despite the presence of several Primates, the Conference failed to address itself to the question of Wildlife and Endangered Species.

EFC

House prices have fallen in the London docklands. Estate agents there are offering 'a Porsche with every purchase', but most buyers choose the alternative of a £30,000 discount on the (nominal) price. In effect, this means an average 10% reduction since March.

The Ugandan government has discovered that two thirds (about 5,000) of its cars are missing.

## George Albon

GEORGE Edward Albon, who died on 27 August at the age of 93, was one of the last survivors of the conscientious objectors movement in the first world war. As a military prisoner at Dyce Camp in Scotland (where the mens committee included Bonar Thompson and Guy Aldred), he succeeded in smuggling out the information that 32 Cos had been shipped to France, where refusal to fight 'in the face of the enemy' meant they could be shot. The men were in fact sentenced to death, but because their plight had been made public the sentences were commuted to ten years imprisonment.

# Allotment notes, and a book

**The Allotment, its Landscape and Culture**  
*David Crouch and Colin Ward*  
Faber & Faber, £13.95

MY GRANDFATHER started work at the age of nine, scaring crows in the village of Bradfield Combust near Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. As the name Albon signifies they were probably descended from the Huguenots who escaped from France to that part of East Anglia. He was one of 13 children and as the agricultural depression began to bite, he moved to London. Many such people were used to growing their own vegetables, often with a pig in the garden and a few chickens, and they were able to glean after the corn crop had been taken. The pig had to be left, although many Londoners still kept a few chickens when I was young.

Compared with the cottage gardens, gardens in London were very small. My grandfather acquired an allotment on a site at the end of Town Road in Edmonton near River Lea Navigation and next to the dog track. The site was set out largely as described by Ward and Crouch in this book, with huts of various materials, some with gutters and a water butt, often surrounded by loganberries and blackberries. My late father took the allotment over when my grandfather got too old, but as work as an unpaid labour councillor took more of his time he gave it up.

The allotment movement received a boost in the war and allotments supplied

a significant part of the nation's food. Small is not only beautiful, it is also productive. The amount of protein on an allotment is high compared with other methods of production. That gift from Central America, the potato, is also very high in yield.

As the book says, some employers were a bit worried that the provision of allotments may divert workers from their real function of making profits for their employers, although when the workers' services were not required it was a means in which the workers were able to provide their own food. The allotment is a left-over from the enclosure of land by the rich, which started with the Norman conquest.

For some, the allotment has provided a recreation and retreat and an interest in the art of growing things, sometimes with great skill. The main owners of allotment land provided have been the local authority, the railway and a few charities, and some are self-managing. Some, according to the book, even have a bar on the site. In some cases the varied constructions required for tools, etc., on the site have tended to irritate local planners, who in places made uniform provision. There have been various areas of land known as 'No Man's Land' (near where I live there is a place called No Mans Land, but I suspect that every square apart from the roads is owned by someone).

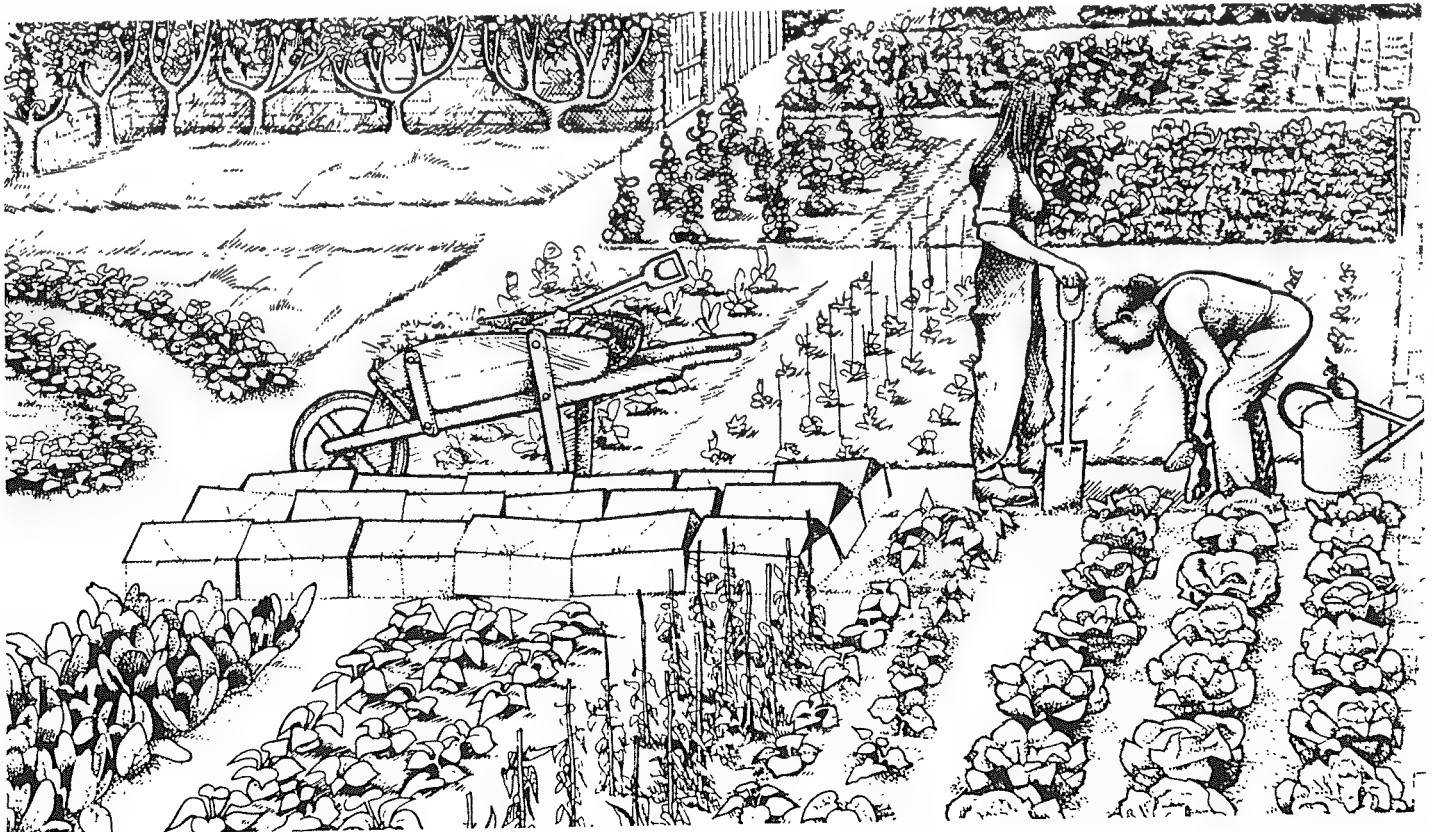
There has been a growth of interest in allotments recently, partly because of

concern about commercial foodstuffs, and pesticides and herbicides entering the food chain. Air pollution, particularly lead from car exhausts, may affect food produced in town, as well as commercial food in shops in high streets. So all vegetables in those areas should be well washed. Some years ago when they filled in part of old Surrey Docks, a vast amount of soil that had been dredged from the homes was used, heavily contaminated with heavy metals like cadmium. The vegetables grown there were analysed and it was found that the only plant which had taken up poisons in a significant amount was alfalfa or lucerne, growing wild and left over from the days when the docks were used.

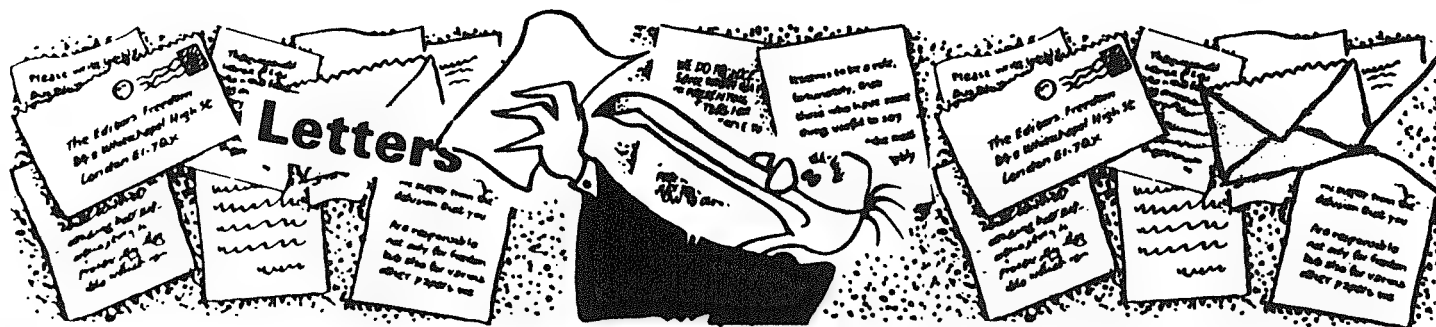
The City Farms merit a mention as many of them have areas of cultivated land. The one I managed for a short time was on the site of the old railway stables in Kentish Town, London, and there a few local pensioners had the advantage of large amounts of dung produced by the animals on the farm.

The growth of the City Farms movement and the fact that there are 500,000 allotment holders shows that there is a desire to have some connection with the peasant past. There has been a historical struggle of people against powerful forces to retain some portion of land in control of people. The struggle against the imposition of taxes on people instead of land has not been notably militant as it was in the past.

Alan Albon







## Rape and the State and Men

I WRITE concerning Derrick Pike's article 'Rape and the State' in the August edition. As an anarchist feminist I found it not only inaccurate and lacking in understanding but positively objectionable.

The point about the proposition that 'all men are potential rapists' is not that all men are physically capable of rape, or that all men will rape. What it means is this. Given the way men are socialised in our culture, a culture from which none of us can fully escape, they are all brought up to regard women as inferior, not fully human beings who are put on earth for their benefit. The logical conclusion of this position is the act of rape. Just as soldiers kill because they are trained to believe that the enemy are not living, feeling human beings like themselves, men rape, not because of some disturbed psychological impulse, but because they are trained not to see women as PEOPLE in our own right. Some men try to rid themselves of this attitude, some men openly subscribe to it, and some, like Pike, refuse even to acknowledge it, particularly not in themselves.

His insistence on 'chivalrousness' and 'protection' is but the flip side of this attitude which allows men to exploit, patronise and generally abuse women. He too clearly regards women as somehow lesser mortals, the weaker sex, who are incapable of looking after ourselves and require a man's protection, a protection which, whatever its payoffs, generally amounts to that same exploitation from which we are supposed to be being shielded.

It seems that Pike is unaware of the real nature of rape. It is not something which only a handful of psychologically deranged men do, such as the Yorkshire Ripper. When you have heard as many stories of rape and sexual abuse as I have, you begin to realise the true dimensions of the problem. THAT many men CANNOT be deranged. It is quite normal for men to rape.

If he were a woman he would understand this. I cannot walk down the street without being insulted, propositioned or violently threatened by men who have no connection with me. From that to rape is a short step. Women live in a permanent state of siege.

Pike's conclusion is that rape is caused by the state and will disappear when/if the state disappears. I have heard this general line of 'come the revolution it'll all sort itself out' from *Socialist Worker*, various 'communist' parties, socialists, liberals and Tories. Rape/women's oppression is never seen as a wrong in itself but only as part and parcel of some other wrong. When will men and the organisations they dominate stop trying to sweep women under the ideological carpet and start taking responsibility for their own misogyny? It is only when they do this that rape and all other forms of violence to women will become a thing of the past. J

[Articles and letters in *Freedom* express the views of their writers, which are not always shared by the editors. They are published for their contributions to the debate on anarchism. Although we did not agree with everything in Derrick Pike's article we feel that the above letter needs some comments. It is always ridiculous to talk in absolutes like 'all men are brought up to regard women as inferior'; one cannot condemn the whole because some of the parts are bad. We do not subscribe to the collective guilt theory. If socialisation has a negative effect on men yet 'we are all affected by this culture', does this mean that women are affected also, and if so in what way does this manifest itself? If we cannot escape from the harm that this cultural socialisation does what is the point of striving to create an anarchist society?

The idea that D Pike can have no true psychological insight into the nature of rape, purely on the grounds that he is a man, is as absurd as it is offensive. As Pike said: 'just as men cannot imagine what it is like to be raped so women cannot fully imagine what it is like to rape'.

Derrick Pike did not suggest, and nor do we, that all rapists are deranged. One doesn't have to be a woman to see this.

As bad as the number of attacks on women are, the use of the phrase 'permanent state of siege' borders on the paranoid. The use of emotive rhetoric and shrill feminism is no substitute for reasoned argument.]

WITHOUT disagreeing with Derrick A. Pike's general argument, his remark that men 'cannot possibly feel threatened' by rape is a legal fiction. In fact, though not in British law, men are subject to anal rape.

A recent broadcast series on rape began with a programme about men who had been raped in fact, mostly by acquaintances, but in one case by a stranger attacking on a country road. In law, however, they had not been raped. Anal rape of women is rape, but rape of a man is legally defined as impossible. In law, they have only been subject to buggery, the offence which was decriminalised 'between consenting adults in private' in 1968. It is still an offence where there is no consent, but a less serious offence (in terms of sentences imposed) than rape.

As in cases of domestic violence, men who complain tend to be laughed at.

UFD

## MALE is the root of all evil

THE *Freedom* July article 'War Crimes' says, 'No doubt the first wars were between adjacent rulers, trying to increase their catchment area for taxes'. Fair enough, if 'wars' means confrontation between professional soldiers — but should we not go back further if we wish to get at the root cause of fighting and aggression? Fighting between family groups would have preceded inter-kingdom wars. And, to go back even further, perhaps it was the tendency for the male to dominate the female and her offspring that produced fighting. Kingdoms, after all, were MALE kingdoms and governments are MALE governments.

By all means let us oppose governments but first should we not tackle the likely root cause—the aggressive, arrogant MALE?

EFC

Maidenhead

PS Elsewhere it has been suggested that matriarchy, like patriarchy, poses a threat to humans. I do not see this. In a sense matriarchy would seem to be little more than a hypothetical concept.

# Anarchists

LAURENS OTTER'S letter (August) replying to a remark in my review of Alan Ryan's book on Bertrand Russell (July) confuses rather than clarifies the issue.

His confusion begins at the beginning, when he refers to the *Committee of 100*, whereas my remark and the rest of his letter actually concern the earlier *Direct Action Committee*. Let's begin again: Alan Ryan said that the DAC 'was a pacifist and anarchist movement'. I said that 'he is wrong about the nature of the Direct Action Committee (supposing that it was anarchist as well as pacifist)'. Laurens Otter suggests that it was anarchist.

He doesn't discuss its policies or activities. Instead he names a dozen people who were involved in it who he says were anarchists or at least former or future or partial anarchists (he could have mentioned a few others, too — such as Alex Comfort, Ethel Mannin, George Melly, or Herbert Read). But he doesn't mention all the other people who were also involved in it who were not anarchists or who were even opposed to anarchism — such as Pat Arrowsmith, Hugh Brock, Arthur Goss, Michael Howard, Sheila Jones, Francis Jude, Benn Levy, Bertrand Russell, Michael Scott, Donald Soper, Harold Steele, and especially the Labour MPs Frank Allaun, John Baird, and Sydney Silverman. Indeed, as he himself said in his pamphlet *Serious Politics Begins with the Bomb*, most people involved in DAC were activists in the Labour Party or various other left-wing parties.

Above all, he doesn't grasp the basic point. This is that, while the DAC was explicitly pacifist through its policies and activities, it wasn't anarchist in the same way but was indeed committed to such non-anarchist things as openness with the authorities (in all its demonstrations), support of parliamentary democracy (in the Voters' Veto campaign of 1959), and cooperation with governments (in the Sahara action of 1959-1960).

What may be said is that several of the people involved in the DAC were anarchists, or at least libertarians, and that several of its activities were implicitly anarchist, because non-violent direct action and civil disobedience against the nuclear bomb and the warfare state led towards libertarianism and then anarchism. The same was later true of the Committee of 100; but — just as was the case with the Committee of 100 — whatever anarchist individuals were involved and anarchist lessons were learnt, the Direct Action Committee was not anarchist as such, and to suggest that it was merely causes confusion.

NW

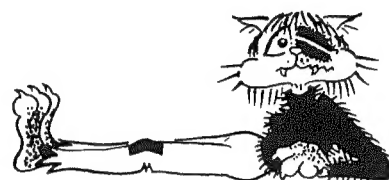
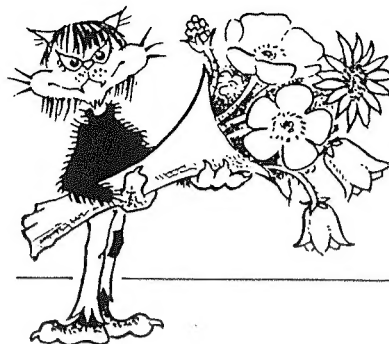
# Opinions differ

I WANT to add my praise for the very high quality of both *Freedom* and *The Raven* to what I hope is overwhelming response. At least it is now the sort of reading I look forward to with great anticipation and wish they both came out more often, especially *The Raven*, which seems to be so long between numbers. I've been a reader of *Freedom* since 1949 (and a subscriber then or the next year) and of *Anarchy* through its whole run, and I've followed both through ups and downs. The two publications are now back to the highest quality, and while the writers have much to do with it, the credit must go mainly to the editorial group who get the stuff in and print it, etc.

John R. Doheny

THANK YOU for the year's sub to you magazine. I am not renewing my subscription as I feel *Freedom* doesn't progress or produce challenging ideas. It is no wonder much of the anarchist movement ignores *Freedom*. However, your bookshop / mail order service is vital and much needed.

Andrew Booth



## FREEDOM AND EDUCATION '88

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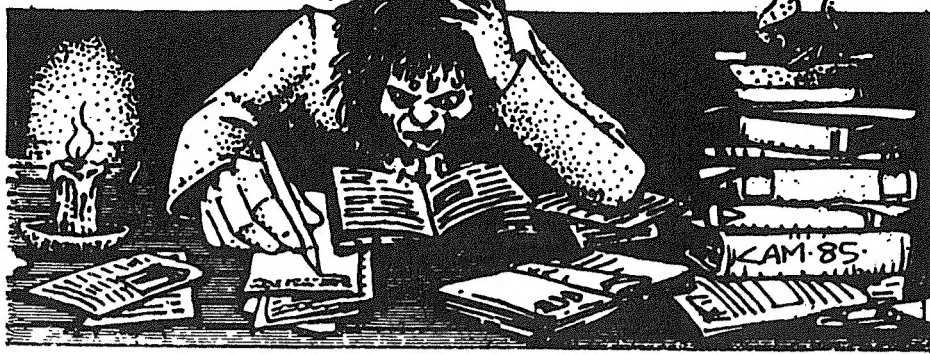


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## REVIEWS



### I, Claudia: feminism unveiled

A Class Whore Publication £1.20

CLAUDIA writes non-stop anger for 11,000 words without once tiring the reader, and cites instances of unfairness from her personal experience without a hint of self-pity. This is a literary achievement which would make the pamphlet worth its price if it had no other merit.

Her target is identified as 'feminism' and 'feminists', but I think of feminism as opposition to sexual injustice and male chauvinism, and it is quite clear that Claudia is a feminist in this revolutionary sense. The feminists she denounces are those who have organised the women's movement to pursue quite other objectives.

Career women: 'My own experience of working for feminist employers brought it home to me how the expanding army of "community workers" are merely pernicious hypocrites who make a display of condemning capitalism, sexism, racism, and heterosexism in order to disguise the fact that they are profiting nicely from the exploitation of their own employees'.

Man-haters: 'Andrea Dworkin says that "every women walking alone is a target. Every women walking alone is hunted, harrassed, time after time harmed by psychic or physical violence" . . . Millions of women stay with their male "protectors" who terrorise them, because they have been so thoroughly persuaded that the outside world holds even greater horrors'.

'New Men': 'Just as the feminist highlights her own virtues by contrasting herself with those women she designates as "less aware" or "male identified", the anti-sexist man enhances his desirability in the eyes of the feminist by berating the misogynist brutality of other men . . . The feminist will cling to her "anti-sexist" man out of conviction that he is morally superior to other men, even if he has chased her out of the house with an axe (as I have known an "anti-sexist" man do to his feminist girlfriend)'.

'The anti-pornography brigade': 'In the summer of 1986 I was at a "Women Against Violence Against Women" rally

in Hyde Park where speakers were weeping on the platform about how they had been raped at Molesworth peace camp. Suitably angered, the protestors set off on a march through Soho to demonstrate against pornography as being a cause of all this male violence. Despite extensive enquiries, I could find no instance of the rapists actually having been named and publicly denounced, which I would have thought the obvious thing to do. These rapists are still walking around in one piece, protected by their "political" credentials and their feminist friends, who would rather march to Soho to disrupt business than attack the actual perpetrators of violence against women . . . The hypocritical behaviour of feminists where "male violence" is concerned, indicates that their desire to combat this violence is completely subordinated to their pathological aversion to pornography'.

There are no jokes, but a sense of humour is apparent in the varied choice of vituperative language, and the use as decoration of photographs of (presumably) Claudia herself, posing in a graveyard. I dare say the 'feminists' will be furious at her denunciation, and she will be delighted at their fury.

DR

### Authority and Delinquency

Alex Comfort

Zwan, £10.95

ANARCHISM is based on (or associated with) a scientific view (or set of views) of human nature and human society, and the evidence of natural and social science has often been quoted to support libertarian ideas. The best-known anarchist, Peter Kropotkin, was of course the best-known example of this tendency, but several other people have followed similar lines. In this country, the best-known recent example has been Alex Comfort, the anarchist pacifist biologist — though he is probably better known now for his books on sex.

In 1950, during a bad period for anarchism, he produced a short book called *Authority and Delinquency in the*

*Modern State: A Criminological Approach to the Problem of Power*, which was a very intelligent and well-informed psychological and sociological analysis of political authority considered as a form of pathological behaviour. It immediately became a classic of libertarian social science, and it remains a valuable and fascinating book.

In 1970 a cheap paperback edition was published by Sphere Books with a 'slightly revised' text and a new title, *Authority and Delinquency: A Study in the Psychology of Power*, and this has now reappeared as the first item in Zwan's new 'Libertarian Critique' series. The new edition is a slim hardback reproduced (without any indication of the fact) from the Sphere edition, with no changes except the addition of a preface by the author which consists only of the following paragraph:

*I have not altered this book, either to modernize its psychiatric ideas or to take in subsequent events. The relation between power and delinquency has changed remarkably little: in America the interpenetration of government and organized crime, especially through the 'security' services, is now almost institutional — hoods, official secret agents, agents provocateurs, 'spoiled' agents and soldiers of fortune are interchangeable and indistinguishable. The hiring and installation of thugs, from Pinochet to the leaders of Right and Left insurgencies, has become a general instrument of great-power policy. With this exception, which is hardly new, but which is now more prominent than before, most of what I originally wrote seems to me to remain applicable. In Britain we are seeing the steady conversion of a reluctant civil police into a paramilitary goon squad, with the adoption of 'colonial' policing against protestors, trade unionists and minorities. Whether this will be allowed to continue, or be reversed by a less extremist government, remains to be seen. On the positive side, more of us are now recognizing the interactions of office and psychopathology, and are drawing political conclusions. I hope this now-old book may reopen the debate.*

So do we.

MH

### Solidarity No 17 80p

QUARTERLY journal of libertarian socialism. In this issue C. Castoriadis discusses Marx and self-management, while A. Orr looks at kosher condoms and Jewish identity. The previous issue (no 16) was largely devoted to the Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party and is an essential read for anyone interested in the nature of such groups. This issue charts the Trotskyist reaction.

JM



**Against the Bomb**  
Richard Taylor  
Oxford University Press, £32.50

**The Burning Question**  
Ruth Brandon  
Heinemann, £12.95

RICHARD TAYLOR and Colin Pritchard made a study of the old Nuclear Disarmament movement ten years ago, just as the new movement was about to emerge. They circulated questionnaires among some of the surviving activists and held interviews with a few of them, and incorporated their work into *The Protest Makers* (1980). This was an unsatisfactory book, for several reasons. The survey covered a self-selected sample of 400 people and the interviews involved only 27, and the lapse of time made the results unreliable. Moreover the sociological analysis was mechanical, the political commentary superficial, the historical material defective, and the narrative method confusing. The conclusions were plain wrong — the authors stated that 'the days of CND as a mass movement are over', just before it climbed to its largest membership ever, and that 'unilateralism is not a key issue' in the Labour Party, just before it became official party policy! Nevertheless *The Protest Makers* did contain some interesting information drawn from a lot of hard work, and it retains a certain amount of documentary value.

Richard Taylor went on to produce a doctoral thesis on 'The British Nuclear Disarmament Movement of 1958 to 1965 and its Legacy to the Left', which was completed in 1983 and has now been rewritten as *Against the Bomb*. The book's subtitle, 'The British Peace Movement 1958-1965', is rather misleading, since it says little about the pacifists and fellow-travellers of the traditional movement, and it concentrates on the old Nuclear Disarmament movement during its peak period. The book is divided into three parts — 'The Mainstream' (mostly CND), 'The Radicals' (the Direct Action Committee and the Committee of 100), and 'The Socialist Dimension' (the Labour movement and the Marxists). Taylor says that his focus is on 'the complex ideological composition and orientations of the main strands' and his approach is 'not chronological but analytical'; but in fact the book consists of a series of separate narratives of various sections or aspects of the movement, ranging from 100 pages for CND down to four or five for Trotskyist sects, which underplays the extent of ideological and organisational overlap — and Taylor never realises how unimportant ideological and organisational questions were to most of the movement.

The balance of the coverage is rather

uneven. The complex formation of CND and its problems with policy and administration get as much space as its practical activities — and Taylor never realises how much of the history of CND was a long campaign by moderate political figures to take over and keep down a much more radical mass movement. The Direct Action Committee — a small organisation which lasted less than four years — gets as much space as the Committee of 100 — a large organisation which lasted twice as long. The Communist Party — which had little influence — gets as much space as the New Left — which had a lot. And the early period — which is well documented — gets far more space than the later — which is not. Far more attention is given to the organisations in London than to the membership around the country, to publications and demonstrations than to the broader movements of opinion and activity, and so on — the usual fault of journalism or history written from outside. Far too much attention is given to a few individuals — such as Bertrand Russell above all, but also Canon Collins and Peggy Duff, Ralph Schoenman (who is treated very unkindly), Stuart Hall (who is treated too kindly), George Clark (ditto), Michael Randle, Pat Arrowsmith and April Carter — and far too little to the cast of thousands who took little interest in the stars. It really was a mass movement, and one of the most important things about it was how little personal influence even the most influential people had on it.

Similarly, too much emphasis is placed on a few tendencies and episodes which had much less importance than is suggested — such as the quarrel between Russell and Collins, the Voters' Veto and the Spies for Peace, the Solidarity group and the anarchists. The coverage of the last two is very uncertain, betraying considerable ignorance of anarchism and syndicalism and revolutionary socialism in general, and missing the influence of the Nuclear Disarmament movement on the development of libertarian thought and action during the 1960s. By contrast, there are some serious omissions. Such essential things as Suez and Hungary, the Nuclear Disarmament symbol and the posters, the music and the songs, the Partisan coffee-house and the Peanuts Club in London, Youth CND and the Young Socialists, the Pacifist Youth Action Group and Troops Against the Bomb, the Voice of Nuclear Disarmament and the Industrial Sub-Committee, the Moscow demonstration in 1962, the Marham and Porton demonstrations in 1963 are either completely ignored or else briefly and misleadingly mentioned in passing.

The political bias is moderately Marxist, with occasional ritual gestures to the working class and obligatory references to 'political' lessons, but this



isn't intrusive. The most important thing about *Against the Bomb* is that it is a genuinely scholarly book which repays careful reading. The sources are almost entirely contemporary documents and reports, supplemented by a few later accounts and the interviews made ten years ago; the latter attempt at oral history is genuinely unsatisfactory, but occasionally interesting. The level of factual accuracy is remarkably high for this kind of book: there are few serious errors, though there are many minor mistakes and misunderstandings resulting from lack of inside knowledge. There is much valuable material which has never been published before, and in the end this is certainly the most reliable single publication on the original Nuclear Disarmament movement yet published.

However, the arrangement of the book is as infuriating as it was in *The Protest Makers*. Far too much relevant material hasn't been incorporated into the text but has been left in the notes, so the book is almost impossible to read. And although it is well produced, there are no illustrations (apart from a jacket photograph of the first Aldermaston March). The price is so high that it would cost only half as much to photocopy the whole thing. Nevertheless, anyone seriously interested in the subject will have to get *Against the Bomb*.

*The Burning Question* is much shorter and covers a much longer period. The subtitle is 'The Anti-Nuclear Movement Since 1945', and Ruth Brandon tries to cover the subject — not just in this country but around the world — at the rate of about three pages a year. Her treatment is inevitably journalistic rather than scholarly, even if she is intelligent and well informed — as was seen in her witty book on the history of spiritualism — and she says some sensible and interesting things, but it really seems hardly worth bothering in this form.

What is needed now, of course, is a history of the new Nuclear Disarmament movement since the revival of the early 1980s; but this will be much more difficult to study than the old one, which was so much more formal and public. Meanwhile, it would be good to have a proper account of the more radical and libertarian aspects of the whole movement from the beginning onwards.

NW

# Only Commerce Counts

WHEN wood is used as fuel, it is quite possible to cut up and burn a 30 year old tree in a few days. This was OK when humans were less numerous and forests were vast. This applies to all fuel and it is all being used as if there is no tomorrow in our transport system, agriculture and industry. The reasons for this state of affairs is the system of ownership and a financial system which obscures the realities of human society and its relationship with resources. It is no use the green or nuclear disarmers not realising that the crass use of resources and expenditure of vast resources on armaments of all sorts results from this relationship in society.

The attitudes to work and property and the subversion of the purposes of human activities shows the primacy of commercial considerations. In milk production the use of antibiotics and its pollution of the milk supply became so pronounced that penalties had to be placed on the introduction of contaminated milk into the supply. In order to continue to sell contaminated milk (ie to maximise profits) drug companies produced a product that concealed the presence of antibiotics in the milk. This sort of thing in fact occurs throughout the food industry. In fact people who are really interested in the quality of life are sometimes prevented from producing quality. Often EEC rules are slanted in

favour of the large companies and people who are producing something people want are prevented from doing so. Ownership of property confers on individuals and companies rights over resources that should be dealt with by the community as a whole. Not only that, every group of people needs to share the use of those resources and to make sure that their common environment is not damaged by individual ownership. The current wave of privatisation is meaningless in terms of control; it merely adds to the unbridled demand on resources.

The tendency towards larger and larger units is no way to control misuse of resources. For instance, Denmark, a relatively small unit, is being pressurised by the EEC to allow non returnable containers because the large producers of crap foods and poisonous drinks find it more profitable to market their products this way. They do not pay for disposal out of their profits, so that not only does the consumer pay for the container the product comes in, they also pay in pollution and disposal.

The biggest issue that greens have to deal with is the private ownership of land and its control by bodies of individuals, which includes governments whose stewardship of it to say the least has been disastrous.

Alan Albon

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